

Message Text

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ACTION SP-02

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 2784

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TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: NATO APAG MEETING APRIL 14-17

REF: STATE 76239

1. ON APRIL 7, EMBOFF DELIVERED TEXT OF US PAPER FOR ATLANTIC POLICY ADVISORY GROUP (APAG) MEETING TO ULKU KARATAY, MFA DEPARTMENT OF POLICY PLANNING (REFTEL). IN RETURN KARATAY TURNED OVER A COPY OF THE TURKISH PAPER WHICH WILL BE PRESENTED AT THE MEETING BY HAMIT BATU, MFA DIRGEN OF RESEARCH AND POLICY PLANNING.

2. THE MAIN POINTS OF THE TURKISH PAPER, ENTITLED "PROSPECTS OF EAST-WEST EXCHANGES: POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS," ARE AS FOLLOWS:

THE ACCEPTANCE BY THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND THE EASTERN BLOC OF POLICIES OF DETENTE IN THE LAST FEW YEARS HAS PLACED IN A NEW PERSPECTIVE THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. BUT THE PROBLEM REMAINS TODAY, AS ALWAYS,
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A POLITICAL PROBLEM.

HOWEVER, THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGES MAY TO SOME EXTENT CARRY A WEIGHT OF ITS OWN AND TAKE ITS OWN COURSE, INDEPENDENTLY OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONSIDERATION.

THE FUTURE OF DETENTE DEPENDS ESSENTIALLY ON THE PRESERVATION OF OVERALL BALANCE OF POWER, MILITARY AND POLITICAL, ACHIEVED THROUGH THE TRIANGULAR POLICIES OF THE US, I.E., VIS-A-VIS EUROPE AND CHINA.

THE OVERALL GLOBAL EQUILIBRIUM TODAY IS POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY. AMONG THE COMPOSANTS FACTORS OF DETENTE, POLITICAL BALANCE WILL CONSTITUTE, IN THE YEARS AHEAD, THE MAIN PROBLEM AS IT IS THE MOST UNSTABLE.

WITHIN THE GENERAL CONDITIONS OF EQUILIBRIUM, SHIFTS IN THE POLITICAL BALANCE IN THE VARIOUS REGIONS OF THE GLOBE TAKE PLACE INSIDIOUSLY, AND IN CERTAIN CASES MAY TIP THE OVERALL BALANCE ON ONE SIDE. THE END OF DETENTE MAY NOT PROVOKE NECESSARILY HOT WARS, NUCLEAR OR CONVENTIONAL. BUT WE MAY THEN HAVE THE PHENOMENON CALLED "FINLANDIZATION" WHICH DOES NOT REQUIRE OPEN DOMINATION OR TANGIBLE INTERFERENCE ON THE PART OF THE BIG POWER, BUT WHICH RESULTS IN THE GENERAL SUBSERVIENCE OF THE WEAKER COUNTRY, OR GROUPS OF COUNTRIES, TO THE WILL OF THE STRONGER.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS WHICH MIGHT ULTIMATELY PUT AN END TO THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AND REMOVE BARRIERS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST ARE NOT NEGOTIABLE; THEY WILL HAVE TO TAKE THEIR OWN COURSE, TO MATURE AND COME TO FULFILLMENT IN DUE TIME IN A MUCH LONGER HISTORICAL PERIOD. THE SOVIET UNION, AS A MEASURE OF SELF-PROTECTION, CANNOT AFFORD MORE LIBERAL POLICIES BEYOND VERY NARROW LIMITS.

THE SOVIET REGIME SINCE KHRUSHCHEV HAS HAD TO LIVE WITH THE DILEMMA OF A CHOICE BETWEEN LIBERALIZATION AND THE PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE, THROUGH THE PRESERVATION OF ITS RIGID POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURES. LIBERALIZATION CANNOT EASILY BE IMPOSED ON THE SOVIET REGIME FROM OUTSIDE. THE SOVIET LEADERS WILL TRY TO THE END TO PRESERVE THE PRESENT

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STRUCTURES, ON WHICH DEPEND THE SURVIVAL OF THE SOVIET REGIME.

WE WILL PROBABLY LIVE THROUGH YEARS OF "UNEASY DETENTE". THE NECESSITY THEREFORE REMAINS TO CONSOLIDATE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POSITIONS OF THE FREE WORLD AGAINST INCREASED POSSIBILITIES OF A SHIFTING BALANCE OF POWER.

THE PRESENT WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS FAVORS THE SOVIET UNION

(I.E., BECAUSE OF ITS STRONG ENERGY AND GOLD POSITION) AND TRADE AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGES CONDUCTED IN THE BASICALLY UNCHANGED BLOC SYSTEM SHOULD ENABLE THE SOVIET UNION TO INCREASE THEIR PURCHASES OF TECHNOLOGY AND KNOW-HOW AT ADVANTAGEOUS TERMS.

IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE PRESENT ADVANTAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN TRADE WITH THE WEST WOULD GRADUALLY DIMINISH IN IMPORTANCE IN A SHORTER TIME THAN EXPECTED, IF AND WHEN THE PROBLEM OF ENERGY AND THE MONETARY QUESTION RECEIVE LONG-TERM ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS.

A RATHER DIFFERENT AND MORE COMPLEX SITUATION WILL DEVELOP WITHIN COMECON. AS THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE ALREADY A MUCH BIGGER PERCENTAGE OF THEIR TRADE ORIENTED TOWARD THE WEST AND THE SOVIET UNION, THEY ARE AND INCREASINGLY WILL BE MUCH MORE AFFECTED BY RISING WORLD PRICES AS A RESULT OF THE ENERGY CRISIS. IF THE SLOW TREND TOWARD CLOSER ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN THE EASTN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE WEST WILL BE HAMPERED OR PARTIALLY REVERSED, THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WILL CERTAINLY FEEL FRUSTRATED AND RATHER GRAVE TENSIONS COULD DEVELOP WITHIN THE EASTERN BLOC.

WE BELIEVE THAT PRESSURES FOR A MORE LIBERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE EASTERN BLOC MAY ACQUIRE GREATER FORCE IN THE PERIOD BEFORE US. THE SOVIET REGIME MAY THEREFORE FEEL COMPELLED TO BOLSTER THE RIGIDITY OF ITS PRESENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM AS A MEASURE OF DEFENSE AGAINST EVER GROWING PRESSURE TOWARDS A MORE LIBERAL POLITICAL SYSTEM.

WITH THE SOVIET REGIME IMPELLED TOWARDS THE PRESERVATION, AS TO ITS PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GOALS, OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC
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AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES OF THE EASTERN BLOC, WE CAN ENVISAGE A STEADILY GROWING VOLUME OF EXCHANGES, BUT NO BREAK-THROUGH WHICH MAY ALTER THE PARTICULAR NATURE OF THOSE EXCHANGES, OR THAT WOULD CREATE A MEASURE OF INTERDEPENDENCE WHICH WOULD MAKE INROADS INTO THE BLOC'S BASICALLY AUTARKIC SYSTEM.
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